Approved For Release 1999/09/08: CIA-RDP82-00457R000300140008-9

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY Spain

DATE:

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SUBJECT

Monarchist-Leftist Negotiations from July 1946 to January 1947

INFO.

DIST. 28 January 1947

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PAGES

ORIGIN

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SUPPLEMENT

Below is information on negotiations between Spanish monarchists and leftists covering the period from July 1946 to January 1947. While some of the information is known, it is believed that a summarized account of the negotiations, which includes recent and hitherto unreported developments, will be of interest.

- 1. Since July 1946, various French officials have manifested great interest in the efforts undertaken toward the creation of a united anti-Franco front to be based on so understanding between the Spanish monarchists on the one hand and elements of the Alienza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas on the other
- 2. On 7 July 1946 in Barcelona, the first contacts between monarchist and republican representatives were made at the instance of a member of the British Consulate. A short time later, conversations were held in Madird, which resulted in the distribution of a manifesto by the ANFD in which this organisation declared itself ready to cooperate with any group, regardless of political color, which sincerely sought to overthrow the Franco regime. During the following month, the conversations progressed towards an agreement, but it became apparent that there was no monarchist personality in Spain with authority to make commitments for the Spanish Pretender, Don Juan, and that it was therefore necessary to send emissaries of the ANFD to Lisbon to discuss the problem.
- 3. During this period, news of these conversations reached the Giral Government and provoked serious dissension in it between those in favor of the conversations and those opposed to them. The tension in the Giral Government culminated in a meeting which took place on 5 September, at which Giral asked for a vote of confidence to extend through the meeting of the United Nations. He won the vote by a very narrow margin.
- 4. When echoes of this lack of agreement reached Spain, the CNT members and the Socialists decided to send delegates to France for the purpose of finding out the real attitude of their representatives and political leaders toward the conversations, which were continuing in Spain. It was under these conditions that on 8 October 1946 the CNT sent Santa Maria to France and the UGP sent an emissary who, of his own accord, limited

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himself to going to the UGT headquarters at Toulouse and returning to Spain.

- 5. Santa Maria, then political secretary of the CNT, had been contacted in Madrid by the French Ambassador. Upon his arrival in France, Santa Maria went to speak officially to the French Government of the parleys undertaken in Spain, saw Bidault and expressed a desire to meet in France an official representative of the monarchist forces.
- 6. Subsequently, he met Julio Lopez Olivan who was invested by Don Juan with complete authority to negotiate the bases of an agreement with the leftists, and came to an understanding on certain points with him. Lopez Olivan asked the French Government to facilitate the journey of Santa Maria to Lisbon, so that the latter could have a personal interview with the Pretender.
- 7. The trip was arranged. About 25 October, Santa Maria returned from Lisbon with an agreement which he had concluded with the Pretender and which he confidently expected to be approved by the leftist organizations in Spain. Santa Maria indicated a desire to go to London, together with Lopez Olivan, in order to advise the British Government of the developments.
- 8. Returning to Paris at the beginning of November, Santa Maria then went to Spain, where on 6 November he submitted the accord to his comrades of the CNT. At first, they considered it feasible, and Santa Meria, believing it better policy to have the accord signed at once by the political parties comprising the Alianza, failed to have it signed at that time by the CNT.
- 9. At this moment, results became apparent of the intrigues carried on in the Directing Committee of the CNT by Luque in the absence of Santa Maria. When the Socialists and the representatives of the Republican Parties refused to sign the accord, Luque intensified his campaign against Santa Maria, accusing him of having betrayed the hopes of the CNT members, and succeeded in having himself appointed to replace Santa Maria. In the face of this situation, Santa Maria could only resign, and wrote a letter to the Pretender to advise him of the turn of events,
- 10. At the end of November, the position of the different political groups could be summarized as follows:
 - a. The Monarchists: Still bound by the agreement of Lisbon, the monarchists were seeking to withdraw from it, using as a pretext the repudiation of Santa Maria by the CNT, and were continuing to negotiate with the Army.
 - The CMT inside Spain: Luque was trying to resume conversations with the monarchists in Madrid, although it would appear that such conversations would terminate as a result of the resignation of Santa Maria.
 - The CNT outside Spain: Representatives of the CNT outside Spain believed that the agreement of Lisbon should be maintained as a basis of discussion, with the modification of Article 5 and Article 2.*

Comment: According to information from other sources, Article 2 concerns the maintenance of public order and stipulates the renunciation of the right to strike on the part of the workers organizations during the period of economic reorganization. Article 5 deals with the holding of a plebiscite and stipulates that, should either a monarchy or a republic replace the present regime without the holding of a plebiscite, the supporters of the alternative form of government will accept the situation, providing that the electorate is guaranteed the right to approve or reject the type of regime then in power.

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- d. Franco seemed determined to remain in power until the collapse of the country's economy. He was keeping himself informed of the intrigues carried on against him and casting about for means of departure, should he have to leave Spain.
- 11. During the several weeks prior to 11 January 1947, it was learned that counterproposals sent by Luque to Lisbon through the offices of General Aranda never reached the Pretender. This fact was somewhat upsetting to the monarchists and the members of the ANFD. The monarchists, greatly astonished at the attitude of Jeneral Aranda, were looking for another means through which the republicans might transmit certain important matters. In this connection, they suggested to Luque that he come in person to Lisbon to explain the counterproposals. However, since the republicans were not amenable to this proposition, it was decided that Luque should write a letter to Don Juan, explaining the republican position. The letter was to be delivered to Lisbon by the Duke of Albs who was to pay a visit to the Pretender about the middle of January. It was Luque's opinion, actually, that it would not be diplomatic to go over the head of General Aranda to negotiate with the Pretender, since he believes that General Aranda represents an important sector of monarchists in the interior, whose opinions do not coincide entirely with those of the monarchists in Lisbon. Recent news from Spain indicates that General Aranda has been arrested and deported to the Balearics.
- 12. Finally, it is notable that during the first week of January the British contacted Luque, Aranda and the Pretender.

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